

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

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THREE PENCE

This Second "War to end War"

IF I am right in thinking that the Editor's reason for occasionally calling upon different people to write this commentary is that he likes it to have the liveliness of a round-table discussion in which divergent opinions may be expressed, I need not be too apologetic for joining issue with Maurice Cranston for something he said here last week.

Commenting on Bertrand Russell's alleged advocacy of an immediate war against the Soviets, which he is also reported to have described as a war to end war, (incidentally, the second war to end war within Lord Russell's and my own adult life), Mr. Cranston wrote:

"The people of the western world could not be driven into a preventive war against Russia. Several more years of Russian provocation are needed for this. . . . The danger will come in upwards of five years' time."

I disagree with every explicit and implicit thought of that passage.

Driven or led?

WE might argue endlessly whether certain things now happening here and elsewhere justify the term "driving" people, or

COMMENTARY

by *

ROY SHERWOOD

whether literary nicety demands that they should be described as leading the public gently towards the light, in the way in which the Americans can now be seen to have been led by President Roosevelt (vide Harry Hopkins' Papers recently published) until they found themselves within little more than two years facing in the direction opposite to that which they had for almost twenty years declared to be their unalterable aim. Whoever won that argument, the result would alter neither facts nor their consequences. Driven or led, the bulk of the people of the western world, I feel certain, will be mentally and emotionally ready for the next war long before five years are past, unless something very drastic and totally unforeseeable happens.

If Bertrand Russell and John Middleton Murry can transmute their adult, well-considered pacifism into the opinions they now hold, and Maurice Cranston, who is still a pacifist, can speak of Russian provocations as a thing to be taken for granted, it seems sheer madness to me to look upon the vast bulk of the people of Britain and America, who have never yet seen salvation in pacifism, as an enduring obstacle against a "preventive" war—all the more so since they are also not so hopelessly stupid as to fail to see the difference between atomic bombs on one side and atomic bombs on both sides.

Safety in numbers

TO me, the cause of peace, as far as fundamentals are concerned, would seem a good deal less unsafe if everybody had atomic bombs than while one side only has them. If that point is to be argued, I shall call one survivor from Hiroshima and one from Nagasaki to present my case. Involuntarily, I am reminded of that priceless inepit remark put into President Roosevelt's mouth in the Atom Bomb film shown some time

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Sir John Boyd Orr and 3 M.P.s support UNO's door-step-citizen

WORLD GOVERNMENT RALLY ASKS UNO'S SUPPORT

DESPITE the threatened return of one of London's worst fogs, more than 2,000 people risked being stranded in Westminster in order to hear Sir John Boyd Orr and other speakers at the Mass Meeting on World Government at Central Hall last Monday.

By acclamation they endorsed a message which was to be sent to Gary Davis, World Citizen No. 1, supporting his call to the United Nations Assembly to extend the present session and spend at least one day in discussing World Government.

Wing-Cmdr. Millington, M.P., after reading the text of Gary Davis's UNO protest, told the meeting that the World's first citizen had been adopted by the French Movement for World Federal Government and that the movement's leaders were interviewing Dr. Evatt to press Garry Davis's demands.

The Chairman, Rt. Hon. Clement Davies, Leader of the Liberal Party, introduced the first speaker, Sir John Boyd Orr, and referred to him as one who had earned the respect of all the peoples and of all the governments of the world.

TROUBLous TIME

Sir John spoke of the troublous times in which people were now living, worsened by propaganda creating war hysteria, and repeated many of the warnings given to the world in his broadcast last July, adding to his own words those of General Eisenhower that there would be neither victor nor vanquished after a third world war.

"Any person advocating war as a solution to our difficulties is a homicidal maniac," Sir John declared, adding that UNO, representing the first stand of a blindly struggling humanity, had achieved some solid results through such functional organisations as the FAO and the World Health Organisation, bodies on which capitalists and Communists had found a common bond in ministering to the needs of humanity.

"Give us twenty-five years of guaranteed peace and freedom from war and we could end the present differences which divide the world," said Sir John. He believed capitalism would be transformed from within and adjust itself, meanwhile critics of the Soviet Union should re-

member that the "Police State," had been a part of Russia's background for hundreds of years, not for the past century only.

The British people should not be self-righteous in their criticism of the Soviet Union, it was only a little more than 120 years ago that the Government of the day repealed a law inflicting hanging on the pioneers of our Trade Unions.

"I suggest," said Sir John, "that the USSR be commended for what she has done in the war to help us." Britain should show her gratitude to the Russians for the supplies of grain which had been sent to this country and for the way in which she was co-operating with the World Health Organisation, placing at its disposal all the latest Russian discoveries in the field of medicine.

END WAR TALK

Sir John again called on the people to "hustle their governments," to tell them to get away from politics and down to the urgent tasks of providing for the needs of the people. Unless the people shouldered this responsibility they would be deserving of the fate which awaited them. "This great event, this building of a world of peace calls for the support of all people. Let there be a little less talk of the fear of war and there will be no war," Sir John prophesied.

Lady Parmoor, Vice-President of the National Peace Council and Hon. Treasurer of the Friends' Peace Committee followed Sir John after a brief interlude consisting of a film illustrating the work of the U.N. and a recording of a speech by Professor Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan.

Our museums, Lady Parmoor pointed out, were full of warnings of the fate which awaited man if he failed to give up the belief that survival depended upon the acquisition of overwhelming force.

Large prehistoric animals which no other creatures could overcome had disappeared but tiny creatures which banded themselves into tribes and colonies survived. The nations were today at a moment in history when their survival was at stake, either to unite or perish through putting their trust in armed might.

PENN'S EXAMPLE

Recalling William Penn's treatment of the Red Indians and his declaration that all mankind was one body, Lady Parmoor stated her belief—which was loudly applauded—that "we shall never get lasting peace in this world until we get this membership of one with another into international relations. Only the spirit can win."

Sir Adrian Boult called on those present to realise that upon them rested the responsibility for furthering the cause of World Government. In his younger days there had been a vast number of trustworthy great men in whom the electorate had a measure of confidence and left to carry on the work of governing their country. Today, there were very few great men, Sir John Boyd Orr was one of them, who could be entrusted with great responsibility and great power. Government was

Toward World Citizenship

If we claim to be civilised, if we love justice, if we cherish mercy, if we are not ashamed to own the reality of the inward light, we must affirm that we are first and foremost citizens of the World. We must launch a cooperative crusade for the establishment of World Government with all that it implies for the delimitation of armed forces in nations to the extent necessary for police purposes. The hour of decision has come. It is either a world government or a devastating atomic war.

—From Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's recorded speech at Central Hall.

The following messages were received from supporters unable to attend the meeting:

LORD BEVERIDGE: "I believe that the Crusade is the movement which has the best practical plan for bringing World Government at the early date at which it is needed in order to save us from another world war. Therefore my own practical efforts are devoted to supporting that movement without discouraging other movements."

VERA BRITAIN: "I send every good wish for the success of the meeting."

LORD DARNLEY: "The future peace of the world is dependent on the content of the millions of individual units and should such contentment be established there would be no room for and no use for the people who disturbed world peace now and in the past."

LORD DARWEN: "Unless this great conception of world unity and world co-operation can be realised in the next few years, we are in danger of another world war which might quite conceivably destroy Western Civilisation."

DR. ALEX WOOD: "I shall be glad if you have an opportunity to convey to the meeting my good wishes, not only for the meeting itself but for the policy of Sir John Boyd Orr."

The Central Hall meeting was sponsored by Federal Union, The National Peace Council and the World Citizenship Movement. It was organised by the Crusade for World Government, 44, Bloomsbury Street, W.C.1., and received the support of the Peace Pledge Union, The Friends' Peace Committee, The Women's International League and several other bodies.

A Mass Meeting on World Government was held in Stockholm at the same time as the Central Hall meeting in London.

£652 3s. 4d. was raised in response to an appeal made by Wing-Cmdr. Millington, M.P. First large sum handed up to the platform was £25 from a citizen of Pakistan, two similar sums came from citizens of South Africa and the State of Israel.

on a much broader base today, on the shoulders of the people.

Henry Usborne, M.P., the Hon. Secretary of the National Council of the Crusade for World Government, after outlining the methods by which the movement hoped to elect a constituent assembly in 1950, said that he hoped it might meet in New Delhi instead of Geneva.

FOOTNOTE: Sir John Boyd Orr will provide the scientific advice and narration for the "Focus on Food" feature in the BBC's Light Programme on Tuesday, Dec. 7 at 8.30 p.m. The programme will set out some of the world's food problems and suggest some of the answers to them.

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PIS-ALLER

THE USSR will have nothing to do with the "world" movement for World Federal Government. The reason for this was stated, clearly and unequivocally, in the letter sent by four Soviet scientists to Prof. Einstein last year. According to these spokesmen (who show themselves no freer from political dogmatism than the scientists of other countries), any World Federal Government elected in the present state of society would inevitably be dominated by capitalist-imperialist interests.

"At present the greater part of the human race still lives in colonial or dependent countries where the governors, troops and financial-industrial monopolies of a few imperialistic powers are bosses. 'Popular vote' in such countries would amount to appointment of delegates by colonial administrators or by military authorities..."

"All this shows what 'popular election' to the world Parliament proposed by Einstein would look like under existing conditions of the capitalist world. Its composition would not be any better than the present composition of the General Assembly. It would be a crooked mirror of the true mind of the masses of the people..."

"As is known, the American delegation in the General Assembly of the United Nations and in various committees is widely using the notorious voting machine, taking advantage of the fact that the vast majority of members of the United Nations are in a dependent position regarding the United States and are forced to adopt their foreign policy to the demands of Washington. Thus, for instance, a number of countries of Latin America with monoculture agriculture are in a state of servile dependence on American monopolies which are fixing prices for their produce. No wonder that under pressure from the American delegation in the General Assembly there is created a mechanical majority which vote on order from their real bosses..."

"Einstein's project would actually lead to the same results and thus not only would not help to secure stable peace and international collaboration but would serve only as a cover for a drive against peoples who have created a system which does not permit foreign capital to draw its usual profits."

It is absolutely clear from this document, echoed as it was by Vyshinsky himself in his speech to the Assembly on Nov. 24, that the idea of World Government as advanced by Federal Unionists in the West challenges one of the fundamental—and by no means the least intelligent—postulates of Marxism.

There are, therefore, only two conditions upon which the movement for World Government can succeed. The first is a miraculous conversion of the Soviet leaders from Marxism to bourgeois Liberalism; the second a transference of the majority of the earth's inhabitants to the Soviet sphere of influence. Should China and India go Communist, and a majority of Communist deputies to the World Parliament be thereby assured, the Politbureau would unquestionably become the foremost champion of Federal Union. But would Federal Unionists in the West remain as enthusiastic as they are now?

If so, they should seriously ask themselves whether the most useful thing they can do is not to join the Communist Party forthwith. If not, they should dissociate themselves from Prof. Einstein's statement that "All the controversies and differences of opinion which we have touched upon in our strange exchange of letters are insignificant pettinesses compared to the danger in which we all find ourselves—from war."

All is grist...

THE British monarchy is the best lightning-conductor ever devised. Much of the hero-worship and craving for splendour that might otherwise be used to inflate the prestige of a political Leader, is harmlessly diverted on to the Royal Family. King George is more than a symbol of the Commonwealth's unity, he is one of the safeguard's of its democracy.

There is no doubt that the cancelling of his visit to Australia and New Zealand will be genuinely regretted in these Dominions; and the fact makes me wonder again why there should be no middle-way between an exhausting State Tour and peaceful residence at Buckingham Palace.

Ottawa and Cape Town are hardly more distant from London today than Balmoral was in Queen Victoria's reign. Why should the King not be furnished with a permanent residence in each of the Commonwealth capitals, where he might spend a few weeks every year? Such a change would effectively symbolise the new status of the Dominions, which are no longer in any sense subject to London, and for some of which Great Britain is not even the "mother-country."

SOME interesting reflections on Juvenile Delinquency were provoked in the House of Lords on Nov. 23, when the Home Secretary invited certain peers to discuss the question with him. While nobody was indiscreet enough to suggest that a rise of 30 per cent over even the 1947 figures for crime among youths under 17 had any connection with war-time conditions, there was no want of speculation as to other causes and possible remedies.

Lord Reading, for instance, gave vent to the profound observation that "the real cure lay in a heightening of the moral standards of the country": in other words, that crimes would cease when men refused to commit them. He thought, on the other hand, that crimes might also cease when there were fewer crimes to be committed: "respect for the law might be restored by a drastic enquiry into statutory orders, restrictions and controls."

No doubt there is something in this.

Gas chambers questioned

An acquaintance of mine who seems to have had more opportunity than many for first-hand observation, is very positive that the statement that several million Jews were put to death in German concentration camps, is a gross exaggeration. The actual number of Jews who, in his opinion, perished from all causes in the camps, is in the region of 300,000, and the number of persons of all nationalities and descriptions in the region of one and a half million.

Is there any evidence from a really reliable source in favour of the higher figure, or is it another example of war propaganda exaggeration?

My informant is also very positive that no really reliable evidence has ever been produced that the inmates of concentration camps were put to death in gas chambers. The only photograph of an alleged gas chamber which he saw produced at a war criminal trial, was obviously one of a shower-bath. While he said that in some cases brutal camp officials, both on the German and on the Allied sides, bullied the inmates of concentration camps by making them stand under ice-cold water, he says there is no reliable evidence whatever that the shower-baths were, as has sometimes been claimed, converted to use as gas chambers.

I seem to have some recollection that reliable pacifist or other relief workers claim actually to have seen the gas chambers, and I should be very interested if any of them could confirm this and positively declare that there was no possibility of error with regard to the actual use of gas.

BEDFORD.

Crowholt, Woburn,
Bletchley, Bucks.

Earl Russell and pacifism

APROPOS of the description in last week's Commentary of Earl Russell as a former "pacifist," it may

A needless multiplication of laws does bring the Law itself into disrepute. But are we to infer that Juvenile Delinquency commonly takes the form of playing barrel-organs without a licence, or feloniously and maliciously leaving the suppressor off the vacuum-cleaner? Or has the precocious youth of today a propensity for throwing bottle-parties, rather than bottles?

★

THE Archbishop of York, at any rate, seemed to feel that something more than a "set the people free" campaign was indicated. While agreeing with Lord Reading in principle, indeed, he was clearly not averse to invoking the aid of the State himself, in practice. Was it fantastic, he asked, to suggest that the State should launch a "drive for honesty and truthfulness, with the co-operation of the Press, the cinema, the wireless, the skilful artist and others" ("others" including, perhaps, the clergy)?

Fantastic or not, the thought of politicians and Pressmen uniting in a drive for honesty and truthfulness is certainly a fascinating one. The principle might be more widely applied. What about a Temperance Crusade initiated by the Brewers' Association, for example, or an all-out campaign against Patent Medicines by Kemsley Newspapers? The Christian World (Nov. 11) has already cottoned on to the idea of ending the evil of conscription by intensified propaganda for the Regular Army. The possibilities seem almost unlimited.

★

HAVING served an apprenticeship at Dothestaff Hall myself, I have acquired a deep-seated suspicion of all schools advertising themselves as "progressive." Nevertheless, it is hard to resist a delighted chuckle—which must have been echoed by schoolboys throughout the country—over last week's exploit at Horsley Hall, Staffs, where Mr. Eric Wildman, President of the Society for the Retention of Corporal Punishment (and himself, oddly enough, a cane dealer) received six of the best from the pupils he had been invited to address.

The only time I met 28-year-old, red-bearded Mr. Robert Copping, Headmaster of Horsley Hall, I felt

be of interest to note that in fact he never was.

He strongly opposed the "First war to end war," was for some time chairman of the No-conscription Fellowship and was imprisoned for his "seditious" writings on our behalf. But throughout that period he made it quite clear that he did not endorse

LETTERS

the full pacifist creed but could conceive of certain kinds of Just War which he would support. Before the Communist Menace arose Hitler had already provided him with an occasion for using the loophole which he always left wide open.

I thought this worth mentioning for its bearing on your recent observations on "Near-Pacifism." Russell is just another example of Aldous Huxley's remark—"There is no such thing as a 99 per cent. pacifist."

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

51B Firle, Lewes,
Sussex.

(Facts: Earl Russell was formerly a Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union and signed the Pledge.

In a letter to *The Times* (Nov. 30), Bertrand Russell denies having urged immediate war with Russia. His address at Westminster School, he says, has been widely misrepresented in the Press. What he really said was that "the democracies should be prepared to use force if necessary, and that their readiness to do so should be made perfectly clear to Russia." Ed.

Gallup polls: useful

MAURICE CRANSTON (PN Nov. 13) would like to see the Gallup Poll finally discredited. Why? Presumably (he infers) because:

1. It slipped up badly on the forecast of the

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS

DECEMBER is notoriously a thin month for subscriptions to any Fund. We all have to spend our money on Christmas presents. But what about a present to Peace News this year?

One PPU sponsor has already given us £10 this week. We don't expect that much from everybody. But just over £20-worth of smaller gifts would bring the grand total for the year up to £700—and it really would be a grand total.

Can we make it?

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Nov. 19: £17 17s. 10d.
Total for 1948: £677 4s. 8d.

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sure we should quarrel about the first principles of education. His remark to an Evening Standard reporter, that this exploit bore witness to the fact that his boys "behave in a more responsible fashion than others," confirms me in that supposition. But it does go to show that pacifists cannot justly be charged with instilling their own prejudices into the young.

★

IHAVE treasured for years the letter I once received from a gentleman in Belfast, who signed himself "Timur the Tartar." That was in 1940, just after a heavy air-raid on the coastal village where I worked as a ditcher. Such people as I, the Tartar expostulated, ought to be ashamed of ourselves, sitting back there in our easy chairs while the brave boys out at the front, etc., etc.

Now that I am accustomed to receiving letters from Peace News readers, all this seems rather mild; and I was coming to the cheerful conclusion that I had grown quite proof against insults. But, alas, the most unkindest cut of all was still in store!

Yesterday I was travelling in the tube opposite a lady with a troublesome small boy. She had tried in all manner of ways to subdue his curiosity and excitement when, seemingly, an inspiration occurred to her. "If you don't stop," I heard her whisper hoarsely, "I'll send you away with that man!"—And the child stopped.

The Miller

recent American election, and is therefore irresponsible, and invariably inaccurate.

2. He does not like some of its "findings." (Nor do I)

3. Gallup's "agents" are not disinterested.

It would be unprofitable here, to discuss these points specifically, as they do not affect the principal that an efficient method of gauging public opinion can be a valuable asset in democratic society.

The question, then, centres round the efficiency or otherwise of Dr. Gallup's methods, and how his enquiries' results are presented. Maurice Cranston destructively emphasises a potentially useful instrument's dangers and one of its outstanding failures; rather than impartially (and hence constructively) considering its need combined with the ways and means for its improvement.

S. J. HAYWARD.

Leighton-Tonbridge, Glos.

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PACIFISM AND DEMOCRACY

The pacifist position does not necessarily mean political irresponsibility, or absenteeism, as it has been called. There is no pacifist party and no pacifist policy in the field. But that is no reason why the pacifist, realising that politics is a realm of relativities, and compromises in which the ideal is never attainable, should not maintain his witness to the ideal and at the same time co-operate in policies which tend towards the ideal. In this matter he is in no different position from the Christian who wishes to be a Christian in politics. The pacifist will work for all that makes for international understanding, for a persistent effort to understand Russia and to find common ground with her, for the reconstruction of Germany, for the care of refugees and for a bold programme of social justice.

Dr. Alex. Wood, Christian pacifist, in his recent Third Programme talk (Listener, Oct. 21, 1948).

BUT—Igor Gouzenko, formerly a Russian official, now a British citizen, who decided that Communism was a vicious fraud and uncovered the Russian atom-bomb plot to the Canadian Government, writes in his book "This Was My Choice" on workers in Russia:

"They have grown up as a new type of slave: a submissive, patient slave who honestly believes he is free and privileged above all workers anywhere in the world. The worst of it is, there's no way to get to the workers of the Soviet Union. Even if it were possible to reach them with the facts in written or spoken word—almost unthinkable because many are still illiterate and those few with radios hear only Soviet programmes—they wouldn't believe what they read or heard."

And here is a letter from a Pole which appeared in Picture Post, Oct. 16, 1948.

"In a letter in Picture Post, Sept. 4, we read: 'It is my belief that not a single woman in the British Isles nor in the USSR wants a war, unless they are mad women, who enjoy having their homes broken up, their ambitions dashed to the ground, and domestic happiness irretrievably lost.'

"We here, behind the Iron Curtain, believe that British women don't want a war, that they can want this and don't want that; that they have a wish, a will, a free will, and can express it. But it is simply naïve to believe that USSR women dare to want something they are not ordered to want. They have a will, a free will—provided that this is the will of the Red Party and Red Gestapo. They have no hopes, they have no ambitions, and they have no domestic happiness. They have nothing to gain and nothing to lose. And nothing to say. They are not mad women, they are poor, pitiable women. We here, behind the Iron Curtain, don't want a war either. But we don't want any longer to live in such conditions, under such police-dictatorship, for life has become to be good for nothing. We are conscious that war is a great evil. But we are conscious, too, that our life is a great evil. Now the question is: which of two evils to choose?"

STATE BARRIERS

In other words, we as individuals can "understand" the Russians till we are red in the face, and one or two exceptional Soviet citizens might "understand" us till they were blue in the face; it would make no difference. There are impassable barriers between the peoples of the world, built up through the years by the various centralised States. The modern centralist State, whether totalitarian or democratic, prevents all possibility of understanding between peoples. If the contemporary pacifist does not proceed from his pacifism to a rejection of the validity of the State's assumption of sovereignty in the name of an abstract "community" then he may as well keep quiet about his opposition to war.

Our tragedy is this: only a passionate, religious democracy would in the ideological field overcome Communism—that is, make the propaganda

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

By
John B. Pick

if each man does perform some useful activity. Since this specific activity has personal meaning its performance will lead to a spiritual dynamism which must in the end transform all activity. The aim should be a society in which all men do that work for which they are most fitted and adequate, in which they are fully extended and consumed: a vocational society.

RESPONSIBILITY

Plainly, no society has yet achieved negative freedom or anything like it, and no society will do so until it accepts a philosophy of positive freedom, that is, of general vocational responsibility for the quality and organisation of work. Such a philosophy is necessarily opposed both to socialism and to capitalism, and, since the vocational idea necessarily involves religious belief, to liberal humanism also. But it is more likely to evolve from capitalism, which is fluid, than from socialism, which is doctrinaire and therefore rigid.

Capitalism can only evolve in the direction of freedom given a constant drive from below, given a determined demand by the people for personal responsibility, for elected workers' councils with real control, for effective decentralisation. The present tendency of both capitalism and socialism is to trust only administrators, civil servants and technicians. This leads inevitably to a de-humanised industry and a spiritually dissatisfied working class. The workers as individuals require material well-being, responsibility, and joy in work—that is, a meaning in life.

If Christian democrats are to be Christian in any other sense than as supporters of the established Church, they must regard meaning as more significant than anything else in

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THE WORLD WAITS

There is a great place waiting in history for the first nation that will dare to save its life by losing it, that will dare to base its national existence on righteous dealing, and not on force, that will found its conduct on the truths of primitive Christianity, and not on the power of its army and navy. And there is a great place waiting in history for the first political party that will dare to take the same stand and will dare to advocate the Christian policy of complete disarmament and non-resistance to alien force.

—John W. Graham,
Conscription and Conscience

social life, and reassert the vocational principle. Where specific vocational sense is lacking it can only grow in an atmosphere of personal and immediate responsibility for the quality and organisation of work. The socialists know nothing of this: having discovered a meaning for themselves in advocating a certain doctrinaire solution to the problems of production they impose it upon the mass of the people—which is never doctrinaire. Unless this need for personal meaning in work is recognised the country will degenerate into easy meat for Communism: discredited socialists, distrusted Tories, disgruntled workers.

WHICH DEATH?

Supposing, then, we oppose the centralised State, we are not likely to accomplish much, and if we accomplish anything it will weaken us militarily against the Russians. But whereas to oppose the evil at home is possible, contact with the Russian people is not, and a just war is not. The fundamental effort must be to give life a meaning, which for so many today it has largely lost. If we are let us do so attempting something worthy of man's spiritual dignity, not fighting with atom-bombs for a materialist democracy or advocating an impossible friendship with Russian dictatorship.

By LAURENCE HOUSMAN

Voluntary Service v. Compulsion

WHICH of you shall have an ass or an ox fallen into a pit, and will not straightway pull him out on the Sabbath day?"

To which I venture to add—or on week days either.

It is with regret that I find myself apparently in a minority among members of the PPU on the question of "directed labour." I have come to the conclusion that the root of true pacifism is voluntary service—national and international; and that it should be rendered both to those who have got into a pit through no fault of their own, and to those who, through their acceptance of war, of communism, or capitalism, or any other 'ism' which we happen to dislike, find themselves—to put it colloquially—"in the soup."

There is today a conspicuous absence of love for the Community, unless the Community happens to be in agreement with what we think the Community ought to be.

INFECTED WORLD

It is a war-product: we are living, as a result of war, in a haunted and an infected world; our social organisation has very largely lost its balance. Economically we are on the verge of bankruptcy, from which only a greatly increased sense of service due to the Community will save us; morally, there has been a great increase in crime—and crime of a more violent, cruel and wantonly destructive character than we have ever known before.

The responsibility for this does not rest solely with the criminals: it, and they, are a war-product: the whole Nation shares the responsibility.

Even a Nation at peace is, by its social imperfections, to a great extent the producer of its criminals; still more is a Nation which has committed itself to the orgie of totalitarian warfare, and crowned itself in self-righteousness, responsible for the increase of crime, and the more horrible forms which crime has imitatively taken now that the orgie is over.

DUTY OF PACIFISTS

It is to this very unlovable Community, this monstrous and multitudinous Ass, which has got itself into a pit full of uncleanness that pacifists should now be giving all the voluntary service they can render to get it out again; and it is the duty and should be the joy of pacifists to recognise, in this voluntary service to the Community in its need, a more spiritual "vocation" than any mere individual "vocation" for which certain paper-pacifists are now claiming a superior right of way in the name of "liberty." I venture to say that there is no such thing as "liberty" when it is separated from all sense of social responsibility. The true name for it then is "escapism."

I have a friend, a very dear friend, who has a great sense of social responsibility: but, because he disapproves of capitalism, he is trailing his coat to get sent to prison for refusing to do directed labour; and all because he would be getting paid for it under the capitalist system, and his employer would be making a profit out of his contribution to the essential industry of which the Community now stand so much in need; and he admits that if the State were being run on non-capitalist lines, he would then be willing to give up his own personal "vocation," and work for the general good. And yet, like myself, he is an author, and is quite willing to be paid under the capitalist system by a publisher who makes a profit out of his authorship.

His remedy, surely, is to do voluntary service for helping his country

out of the pit into which it has so foolishly tumbled.

There is a Society—only a small one unfortunately—called "International Voluntary Service for Peace" which is doing this both nationally and internationally. To that Society (which is badly in need of help in two kinds, financial and manual) pacifists, who object to working for capitalists, can voluntarily direct their labour; and if I may once more refer to the word "liberty," in order to give it its true value, is not perhaps "the glorious liberty of the Gospel," the liberty which comes from fulfilling the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount and giving voluntary service even to those who seek to compel it, so that in the larger service voluntarily offered compulsion is wiped out?

I have said that I believe voluntary service to be the root of true pacifism; and I believe that when the war ended—if given internationally—it would have been the surest way to peace.

NEED FOR PEACE ARMIES

Had we then changed our Armies into Peace Armies, and sent them out to give free service in directed labour to friend and foe alike, for the rebuilding of ruined cities, the relief of suffering, and the clearing up of all the hideous ravages of war, then I believe firmly that—even from opposing ideologies—there would have been no suspicion, and no fear, nor any hindrance to work of such manifest atonement and redemption for the sins in which all the warring Nations had a share. Also—though this is but a minor consideration—it would have cost far less.

Is it too late to ask members of the PPU to give a truer and a higher meaning to the word "vocation," and a more social meaning to the word "liberty." My best wish for them is that they would all become, if not members at least helpers of "International Voluntary Service for Peace," recognising that in such service lies the true root of Pacifism.

USSR gives a lesson in tactics

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

ago. The devastating power of destruction of atomic fission has just been explained to the President. He leans back in his chair and says in an awe-struck voice: "If this were to fall into Hitler's hands, why, it'd be murder."

I do not wish to be understood as saying that I shall consider the cause of peace safe as soon as the Russians, too, possess atom bombs. But I am very thoroughly convinced that both the assumption that we are good for at least five years' respite, and the self-righteous postulate that war, if it comes, will all be Russia's fault, are wholly unjustifiable. The progress of hardening enmity to Russia and lessening resistance to the idea of war is frankly alarming. And, paradoxically though only at first sight, even the striking revival in public interest in pacifism is a clear signpost on this country's and America's quick road to war-mindedness. For however gratifying this revival of interest may be to organisers of PPU activities, it is also plain evidence of people's growing pre-occupation with the subject of war, with scores of thousands moving farther away from the groundwork of ideas and aims for which pacifism stands for every single new listener to our wisdom.

Pointers

IN Britain, the week just elapsed has brought the Government's double announcement of higher pay and allowances for the armed forces and of the extension of compulsory whole-time service under the National Service Act beginning with the new year, from 12 to 18 months.

In March 1947, when the Government first proposed this extension, the plan had to be dropped because 85 members of the House of Commons, 72 of whom were Labour representatives, voted for its rejection.

In America, at Cincinnati, the 650 delegates to the American Federation of Labour Convention held there this week, have passed a number of significant resolutions. One of them, adopted by an "overwhelming majority" is described in the news reports as a vigorous indictment of Soviet policy, concluding with the proposal that the United States and all Democratic Powers should sever all trade relations with the USSR until such times as "Russia is ready to lift her barbarous blockade of Berlin."

Another, adopted unanimously, declares:

"The United States should not only put its own defence into complete readiness and invincibility but should also provide arms and enter into a defence military alliance against totalitarian aggression which may threaten friendly nations in Europe, Asia, or elsewhere."

Finally, as I am writing, the BBC news bulletin reports that seven members of the American House of Representatives Defence Committee have just arrived at Madrid, after visits to Trieste, Vienna and a number of other places, for talks with General Franco's military experts.

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Which, at least to my sort of mind, suggests an amazing broadening of the meaning of the word "democratic" and an equally amazing narrowing-down of the meaning of the word "totalitarian."

If this is the distance we have travelled away from the hysterical Soviet-worship of the war in three years, is it likely to take another five for the "preventive" war, now advocated by an increasing number, to be recognised as a moral obligation? I should feel more confidence in my ability to answer that question by a firm "No" if the moralist Roosevelt had not ordered the dropping of the Hiroshima bomb, and the moralist Lord Russell were not advocating the same thing on a larger scale now.

Not submission

IT is at this point that we get down to fundamentals. Bertrand Russell, the report tells us, answered the challenge of a listening schoolboy by saying: "Anything is better than submission." To begin with, non-violent resistance is not submission. But even if it were, it would not be as bad as the lunatic idea of trying to create a higher morality, meant to lead to better world conditions, by the perpetration of the most abominable crime against humanity ever conceived.

The crime-wave, the widespread diminution of the standard of honesty of average people and all the other after-effects of the war are childish trifles in comparison with what would happen to men's minds after a bout of atomic warfare on the heroic scale. In the last resort, this is an alternative between a risk of sacrificing the body and the certainty of sacrificing the spirit.

Revolution by example

THE world—and it is time it realised it—is in a state of revolution against conditions which many of us are too slow in altering. I doubt if there has ever been a case of revolutionaries being tolerant, or even of reformers. That, perhaps over-simplified, is what is the matter with Russia. Writing of an analogous event in past history, Macaulay says of the struggle between the Church of Rome and the Reformation:

"The leading strings which preserve and uphold the infant would impede the full-grown man. And so the very means by which the human mind is, in one stage of its progress, supported and propelled, may, in another stage, be mere hindrances. There is a season in the life both of an individual and of a society at which submission and faith, such as at a later period would be justly called servility and credulity, are useful qualities."

Communism, dealing with people unfit as yet to combine economic equality with individual liberty, exacts this attitude of submission and servility. I am not suggesting that it is right in doing so; I only say that it is natural, and that we should be prepared for it and struggle against it by means other than military war.

And we should do so all the more because the Soviets' warfare against us is unceasing, and alarmingly successful, employing just the means we consider secondary: the means of example, persuasion and intellectual infiltration. Soviet territory itself, it is true, is hermetically closed to us. But we had all the initial advantage in China, all over the Far East and Middle East, and in France and Italy. Is anyone sufficiently venturesome to assert that we are doing well in any of these areas?

De Gaulle's gaffe

THE latest outstanding fact about France, where conditions and the people's natural inclinations as well as the main factors of economy are such that Communism stands a chance only when things look well-nigh desperate, is General de Gaulle's surprising *gaffe*. Anti-British both because his authoritarian character makes him hate us for the help he had to accept from us and on account

Peace Pledge Union and the Communist Party

CORRESPONDENCE reaching Peace News and PPU Headquarters reflects a widespread misconception of the policy of the PPU in relation to the current "Stop the Drift to War" campaign, organised by the Communist Party.

At its meeting on Sept. 26, 1948, the National Council of the PPU issued a statement of policy containing the following clause:

Since there are no differences between the governments which can justify war or be solved by violence, the PPU is ready to co-operate in the present urgent situation where possible with all who are endeavouring to avoid a third world war.

It was left to the Executive Committee to determine where and when such co-operation was possible.

Neither the National Council nor the Executive Committee has committed the PPU to co-operation with the Communist Party in any "United Front." It was generally agreed, however, that representatives of the PPU should accept invitations to state the case for pacifism at meetings organised by the Communist Party; and it was in pursuance of this policy that the PPU was represented at the Trafalgar Square demonstration on Nov. 14, and at similar public meetings in the Provinces.

COVENTRY PEACE CONFERENCE CALLS FOR GESTURE TO USSR

EIGHTEEN organisations were represented at the "Stop the Drift to War" conference held at the Technical College, Coventry on Saturday, Nov. 27. The Rev. Tom Roff of Stoke Congregational Church spoke on what the churches could do for peace. He said that historic Christianity was bound up with militarism but that this happened only after the third century, the true Christian tradition being a repudiation of war.

Harry Hilditch, the second speaker, said that scientific progress could not be stopped; by it we could either reach a higher standard of living and a fuller life or have wars which became more devastating.

After tea a discussion to which most delegates contributed became very lively. A resolution was adopted which included the two following proposals:

The immediate withdrawal of occupying troops from all countries.

An imaginative gesture to be made by the Western Powers to Russia, as a means of breaking down suspicion and creating good will. This might take the form of a substantial gift to alleviate the hardship and suffering created in Russia by the last war.

of past violent differences in Syria, he has now protested against the arrangement under which Great Britain has become the leader of joint Western European Defence. A Frenchman, according to him, ought to hold that position.

But this time the General has made a mistake. Although there are many millions of Frenchmen who support him, he is wrong in believing that they share his military ambitions. They are more genuinely and more deeply sick of war and militarism than any other people in Europe with the exception of the Italians only.

The General probably realises that a great deal of France's Communism is little more than skin-deep, the mere result of an intensity of disgust with the succession of inefficient governments since the liberation,

which is truly staggering. But he does not seem to have realised how great a proportion of his own following is due to the same cause.

And in his failure to realise this he has probably lost a number of supporters to the Communists, for nothing is less likely in the present conditions of France than that there should be any considerable growth in support for the more moderate middle parties.

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Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

IN October, 1937, Canon Dick Sheppard, a publicly declared pacifist, founder of the newly organised Peace Pledge Union, won the Rectorship of Glasgow University against Professor Haldane, Mr. MacNeill Dixon and Mr. Winston Churchill.

The Press, much dismayed, hastened to explain the victory away by assuring the public that this was not a victory for pacifism but a victory only for a famous and well-loved man.

One reputable Weekly used the election to attack pacifism on the grounds that pacifists refuse to face facts and that pacifism being "a whole way of life, no man has a right to take it unless he is fit to take it."

The correspondence columns were filled with replies from well-known pacifists, and looking back over my records I am amazed to find how true and alive today are the words written then, just before World War II.

"Human frailty is such that the man who can wait to take a way of life until he is fit to take it must be something of a curiosity. Surely even few of our great saints would have called themselves fit? We can only hope that by constant endeavour we may become more fitted," says one writer.

ST. PETER TRIED

Another says, "We (the sponsors of the PPU) are under no illusion that a percentage of the members may not realize the full implications of the pacifist doctrine and will perhaps fail to live up to their principles in a time of crisis. St. Peter failed to live up to his faith on a famous occasion, but I have never heard it used as an argument that he ought to have made no attempt to be a Christian."

I, myself, said

"That the students of Glasgow have registered only their hatred of war and their admiration of a fine ideal may be true, but it is at least a step forward on the road to peace, and they may become genuine pacifists on the way."

There are a great many people today, more perhaps than there were in 1937, who are seeking a genuine way to peace but who are not yet pacifists. We no longer have a Dick Sheppard capable of carrying his conviction to the winning of votes, and so we must rely upon ourselves for building the road to peace, and for gaining new pacifists on the way.

Let us make Friday, Jan. 21, at the Central Hall, Westminster, the starting place for an increasing volume of work for pacifism. Through the remaining winter months we will carry the message by way of meetings, debates, leaflets, posters, letters to the Press, questions to M.P.s, a great Peace Demonstration in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, April 3.

Put the dates down in your diaries.

Glasgow are calling their meeting in the St. Andrew's Halls on Sunday, Dec. 19, a Peace Demonstration. The speakers will be Rhys Davies, M.P., Stuart Morris and myself. Councillor David Gibson will be in the chair.

Please note that the Bristol meeting mentioned last week is on Mar. 5, not Mar. 6. The speakers will be Kathleen Lonsdale and Rhys Davies, M.P., with Laurence Housman in the Chair.

Vera Brittain and Laurence Housman will be among the Speakers at the Central Hall meeting on Jan. 2. Further names will be announced next week.

SYBIL MORRISON.

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